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NINTH PLENUM SPEECH OF JAN KLECHA  
ON PARTY NEGLIGENCE OF SMALL AND MEDIUM PEASANTS IN POLAND

Nowe Drogi, Vol VII  
 Warsaw, Oct 1953

[The following report of Jan Klecha, First Secretary of the Olsztyn Wojewodstwo Committee of the PZPR, was given at the Ninth Plenum of the KC PZPR (Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party), held in Warsaw on 2-30 October 1953.]

The report was given at the plenum as an amplification of the featured report of Premier Boleslaw Bierut, "Task of Party in Struggle to Raise Standard of Living of Workers in Current Phase of Building Socialism." An English language translation of Bierut's report is available in the PAP (Polish Press Agency) release of 6 November 1953, pages 1-44.]

The Olsztyn Wojewodstwo Committee of the PZPR has been considering ways and means of organizing the peasantry for an effort to raise agricultural production. We have been considering how to coordinate state aid with the initiative and the efforts of the peasantry. A great force in mobilizing the peasant masses is the fact that the peasant is working to improve his own welfare, that the party task and the goal of the peasant are identical. If we simply said to the small and medium peasant: "You have one cow and you want two cows. You should have two cows and we shall help you. You should improve your crop since it is profitable for you and the country. We shall help you." There is no doubt we would be successful.

A very important factor in increasing production is the application of the experience of outstanding peasants. Many peasants in our wojewodstwo have already exceeded production indexes of the Six-Year Plan. Cannot these be an example to the ones who have not yet achieved even half of the production index called for in the Six-Year Plan?

Medium peasants who have two cows and a heifer and who produce 14 quintals of grain or 250 meters of potatoes from one hectare can be found in every village. Their success has been due largely to the people's state, which has given them the land, has created a market for their products, and continues to help them farm the land. Using these outstanding peasant farmers as an example, we must mobilize all the small- and medium-peasant farmers in the village through organizational and political work, in the struggle to increase production on their farms.

We must approach the peasants with a concrete program. We asked the agronomists in the PGR (State Farms) and the People's Councils to work out some guiding principles for farming small and medium farms, principles suited to the atmospheric and soil conditions of our wojewodstwo. The principles which have been worked out are perhaps not yet perfect and may have to be changed. However, we have submitted them to the peasants of a village which had been lagging and which had no party organization. Although there was work to be done in the fields, 50 peasants came to the meeting and unanimously approved this program for improved farming operations. We then suggested that they organize a chapter of the Union of Peasant Self-Help.

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The kulak plainly urges the peasant to neglect the land. The struggle for increased production is a class struggle, a sharp struggle with the kulak. The kulak has agitated against the inoculation of pigs and against applying science in agriculture. By showing the peasants concrete results, we have convinced them that application of scientific methods is to their advantage.

In a more advanced village, the outstanding peasants, who have a large number of livestock and have obtained high crop yields, have failed to understand that they must help the more backward peasants to improve and that they need not fear competition.

Undoubtedly, there are 10 to 15 peasants in every village who would accept a concrete plan geared to their capabilities and needs (which are also our needs), a plan to increase production in the entire village. This group would carry it out and agitate for it among the small and medium peasants. This should be the aim of the party organization and grain committees, and party members ought to be geared for this. The libraries in such villages should be adequately supplied with books to facilitate study.

It is very important to make full use of the services of farm experts in the struggle for increased agricultural production. We have 400 agronomists working in the people's councils, 140 in the state MTS, and a few in schools. The agronomists ought to take steps to counteract the kulak propaganda advocating neglect of the land. They must teach the peasant how to obtain adequate production to supply his own needs, to make the required deliveries to the state, and to have a surplus to sell on the free market.

In the matter of taxes, it is very important that the exact situation of the small and medium peasant be ascertained.

For instance, in Burezewo Powiat, about 1,200 of the 5,400 farms contain from 0.5 to 3 hectares of land. Some of these peasant farmers work on the railroad, some in the forests, and some for kulaks. There are also many 60-70 hectare farms, of which only about 10-12 hectares are cultivated, part is left fallow, and part is rented to the poor peasants. Many poor farmers have no cows and have difficulty in providing milk for their children. In plain words, there are landless peasants while land is lying idle. Is it not possible to allot this fallow land to the landless poor through land reform?

Usually, fallow lands have been allocated to producers cooperatives. It seems that in this instance we could go a step further.

We must also give consideration to the poor peasants in grain purchases. In one powiat, 300 of the 3,600 peasants have farms of less than 2 hectares. This is about 25 percent of the total peasants, but their share in grain deliveries is very small. Nobody seems to care about getting these peasants together to aid them in making deliveries, nor does anyone care about giving them relief when needed. These peasants could constitute great political strength in the village. We talk about our program to help the poor, to fight the kulak, and to promote an alliance with the medium peasant, but what have we actually done? After we give the poor peasant aid, we forget about him. We seem to feel that the mere fact of having aided him has indoctrinated him politically, and that he will feel his responsibility to the village and fight the kulak. All this does not happen by itself. Our political work among the poor peasant has been most inadequate. Actually, he has been standing on the sidelines.

The peasant will not accept socialism spontaneously. We must go to the peasant, we must unite with him in the struggle for increased production, and we must educate him and point out to him that he has no common ground with the

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kulak. These tasks must be faced right from the start. Thus, while we are mobilizing the small and medium peasant in the struggle for increased production, we must double our efforts in the producers cooperatives. In the struggle for increased production, producers cooperatives must always set an example. Only in this way can we achieve an alliance with the peasant which will lead him to socialism.

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